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REAVIS

Manhood of America

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THE

MANHOOD OF AMERICA

A LECTURE.

BY L. U. REAVIS,

Author of "Life of Horace Greeley;" "Life of Gen. W. S. Harney," "St. Louis, the future Great City of the World;" "Railway & River Systems of St. Louis;" "Thoughts for the Young Men and Women of America;" Lectures and Essays on various subjects, &c.

DELIVERED AT EXETER HALL, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1879.

"AMERICA, AND ESPECIALLY SAXON AMERICA, WITH ITS IMMENSE VIRGIN TERRITORIES WITH ITS REPUBLIC, WITH ITS EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN STABILITY AND PROGRESS, WITH ITS HARMONY BETWEEN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY, IS THE CONTINENT OF THE FUTURE."—*Emilio Castelar.*

THIRD EDITION.

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TO

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HALL,

A FRIEND AND COUNTRYMAN,

WHOSE BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND WELL-DIRECTED INDUSTRY HAVE RAISED HIM TO HONORABLE PLACE AND POSITION AMONG HIS FELLOWS, AND MARKED HIM AS A GENUINE TYPE OF A RISING NOBLER AMERICAN MANHOOD,

A CITIZEN,

WHOSE EXACTING METHODS OF LIFE, WHOSE BUSINESS INTEGRITY, CLEAR COMPREHENSION, AND ENERGETIC PURPOSE, HAVE MADE HIM A LEADER IN FIELDS OF DUTY WHERE SHARP COMPETITION AND WEALTH ARE THE POTENT MEANS BY WHICH TO ACHIEVE DISTINCTION;

A FRIEND,

WHOSE FIDELITY IS UNSWERVED BY THE BLANDISHMENTS AND NARROW JUDGMENT OF SOCIETY, BUT STIMULATED TO DEEDS OF TRUE BENEVOLENCE BY A SINCERITY OF PURPOSE AND A SELF-CONSCIOUS CONVICTION THAT TRUE MANHOOD AND TRUE GREATNESS ARE ALIKE ESSENTIAL TO A TRUE LIFE,

THESE PAGES,

AIMING TO PRESENT THE DOMAIN, THE GOVERNMENT, THE GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES, AS WELL AS AMERICAN THOUGHT AND AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS, ARE FRATERNALLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

16 Fe 27

PROPHETIC VOICES CONCERNING AMERICA.

"The prophecies and the poets are with us. . . . With regard to his country there is no poetry like the poetry of events, and all the prophecies lay behind the fulfilment."—*Daniel Webster.*

"There are children living who will probably see the United States numbering two hundred millions of inhabitants."—*Lord Derby.*

"There will, then, arrive a time when there will be seen in North America one hundred and fifty millions of men equal together, who will all belong to the same family, who will have the same point of departure, the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and over which thought will circulate in the same form and paint itself in the same colours. All else is doubtful, but this is certain. Here is a fact entirely new in the world, of which imagination can hardly seize the extent."—

Alexis de Tocqueville.

"I have a far other and far brighter vision before my gaze: it may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretch from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic, westward, to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime."—*John Bright.*

"America, and especially Saxon America, with its immense virgin territories, with its republic, with its equilibrium between stability and progress, with its harmony between liberty and democracy, is the continent of the future—the immense continent stretched by God between the Atlantic and Pacific, where mankind may plant, essay, and resolve all social problems. Europe has to decide whether she will confound herself with Asia, placing upon her lands old altars, and upon the altars old idols, and upon the idols immovable theocracies, and upon the theocracies despotic empires, or whether she will go by labor, by liberty, and by the republic to collaborate with America in the grand work of universal civilization."—*Emilio Castelar.*

AMERICA A GLORIOUS LAND.

"Our country!—'tis a glorious land!
With broad arms stretched from shore to shore.
The proud Pacific chafes her strand,
She hears the dark Atlantic roar."

* * * * * * *

"Great God! we thank Thee for this home—
This bounteous birthland of the free;
Where wanderers from afar may come,
And breathe the air of liberty.
Still may her flowers untrampled spring,
Her harvests wave, her cities rise,
And yet, till Time shall fold his wing,
Remain earth's loveliest paradise."

THE SHIP OF STATE.

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great;
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What Workman wrought thy ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge, and what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope.
Fear not each sudden sound and shock—
'Tis of the wave and not the rock,
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore;
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea—
Our hearts our hopes, are all with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!"

LONGFELLOW.

PROPHETIC AMERICA.

"Melodia rules thy destiny, O Land
Of coming years; O Empire wise and grand,
America! and thou at last shall be
The consecrated home of Poetry—
The fairer Greece, adorned with noblest art,
And bathed in sacred love from God's creative heart.
For thee, for thee, the wise Melodians throng
Even now, and chant in Heaven their morning song.
For thee and for thy sons methinks they sing;
They come, and angel songs as offerings bring.
For thee and for thy race methinks they cry,
'Love, Wisdom, Inspiration, Liberty,
The four great Angels of the coming time,
To their Olympian goal lead on thy race sublime.'
Thou art that rock-built Pharos that above
Earth's ocean lifts the immortal flame of love.
E'en now thou shinest like a beacon-star,
Leading Earth's myriads o'er the deep afar.
Thou art the lost Atlantides that lay,
To ancient thought, beyond the waves away;
The New Jerusalem the ancient Seer
Of Patmos saw, descending white and clear
From highest heaven; the rich and wise Cathay
Columbus sought, faith-guided, on his way.
The Old, the New, the Future, and the Past,
Meet and embrace, complete in thee at last.
Thou art the crowning flower of Earth and Time,
The destined Eden of Mankind divine."

T. L. HARRIS.

L. U. Reavis, Esq.

Dear Sir,—I thank you for your lecture.

I do not look for the gift of a new religion to the world from the United States; but I view with pleasure their advance in wealth, power, and civilization. This pleasure is wholly unmixed with jealousy; and I feel grateful to those who, like you, exert themselves in making known to this country the great facts of the case, on which we are but scantily informed.

Your faithful and ob't.,

W. E. Gladstone.

March 3, 1880.

Bishop's Court, Manchester,
March 29, 1880.

Sir,—I have received the pamphlet which you have had the courtesy to send me.

Having visited your country in the year 1865, and spent five months there, I had the opportunity of viewing its vast resources and capabilities; and the best hope that I can express, and I do express it very cordially, is that "the manhood of America" may prove equal to the great career which appears, in the designs of Providence, to be placed before it.

I remain, Sir, yours very faithfully,

James Fraser,
Bishop of Manchester.

L. U. Reavis, Esq.

THE

MANHOOD OF AMERICA.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am here to speak to you concerning a great continent of our globe, and of a great nation in the family of nations. I left my native land—my home in the far West, upon the banks of the world-renowned Mississippi River, to visit this island home of yours, around which cluster time-honored associations of wealth, of science, of refinement, of industry, and of moral and physical culture; and to herald to you, and through you to the people of the Old World, the overmastering evidence of the growth and onward progress of the human race in its resistless march westward to complete the circuit of the globe.

In coming, however, to this land of old religions and old civilizations, I do not come to indulge in hackneyed platitudes, and exaggerated expressions about America. America, and especially the United States of America, needs on such advocacy. The country speaks for itself as man cannot speak, and in the eloquent language of its mighty rivers, its snow-capped mountains, its vast lakes, and almost boundless prairies, and its unequaled productive resources, is written a history of romance and power, before which the tales that Marco Polo related to the Venetians about the glittering land of Cathay, pale into comparative insignificance.

But in coming to this side of the Atlantic to speak of the continent of the West, I am not unmindful

of the fact that the center of human power on this globe, in its westward movement, long since made a lodgment in western Europe, leaving the great cities and nations of the past to decline in old age and wasted fertility; and that it is now represented in its greatest power by the city of London, the world's great metropolis of this day and generation. I am not unmindful that from these islands of Great Britain and Ireland have been persistently heralded true principles of the rights of man, and of liberty for all mankind; that these principles, although at first deemed heterodox and revolutionary, have been so nobly advocated, and so consistently practised, by your greatest and most illustrious statesmen, by men like a Fox, a Pitt, a Burke, a Wilberforce, a Shipley, a Cobden, a Forster, and a Bright, that they have taken deep root in the soil of public sentiment throughout the known world, and have been, at any rate in America, so firmly engrafted on our political and social life, that the only contention henceforward between Great Britain and America will be which shall exceed the other in zeal for establishing universal equality and freedom, and in educating the many, not the favoured few, up to a higher plane of thought, and a more advanced civilization. I also realize that the pulse of the world throbs in unison with the heart of Great Britain; that the influence of her daily life is felt in every quarter of the globe, and that commercial and financial exchanges of other nations are governed by the dicta of her merchants and capitalists. I realize that her ships traverse every ocean, and that the world's people have been enriched by her commercial enterprise and missionary zeal; nay further, I know—and here I speak of the past as well as the present—that England's great men have

grown up as numerous and great as the tall trees of our primeval forests, and that in her ancient seats of learning have been cradled giant intellects whose mentality has enriched the minds of all peoples, and whose brilliancy is reflected on every page of the world's history. England has not been satisfied, however, with mere intellectual achievements, commercial conquests, and scientific victories. The great minds of England, such as Huxley and Tyndall, and Mill and Spencer, have been labouring for years to solve many intricate problems, and to harmonize the truths of an accepted religion with discoveries of a progressive science. Their labours in the interest of truth and mental development are fully appreciated by the intelligent minds of the New World, while the utterances of a Kingsley and a Stanley, names dear to the American people, have been instrumental in teaching lessons of a practical, not conventional religion, and that Christianity consisted not so much in a creed as in a life practice, a life full of noble impulses and ardent aspirations after higher attainments. I allude specially to these facts with the view of showing that Americans are not so wrapt up in their own country as to become sectional in their sentiments and ideas. They recognise the force of English character, and are ardent admirers of English institutions and English statesmanship, and they believe that England, in the future as in the past, will continue to impress its policy and its thoughts on the political and social life of the whole civilized world. But turning to the New World, I have a new lesson to present to the people on this side of the wide Atlantic.

To my mind the subject which I have come to your nation to present to the world is one of infinite

importance to the future welfare of the world's people. It opens to the human understanding a vast field of nature on which unnumbered problems of government and civilization are to be confronted and solved in the succeeding years and centuries of the future.

Said Charles Sumner, "The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus is the greatest event in secular history, while yet unknown imagination invested this continent with proverbial magnificence. It was the Orient and the land of Cathay. It was—

> "The lost Atlantides that lay,
> To ancient thought, beyond the waves away.

"When afterwards it took a place in geography, imagination found another field in trying to portray its future history."

Said Edward Everette, in speaking of America before its discovery by Christopher Columbus, "I feel more deeply than ever before, that there is nothing in human history which can compare in interest with the condition of the American continent on the eve of its discovery and colonization, and its transition into the sphere of civilized and Christian culture, looking back from our present point of view upon the various stages of this transition, as one great operation in the order of Providence.

"Consider it a moment: there it lay upon the surface of the globe, a hemisphere unknown to the rest of the world, in all its vast extent, with all its boundless undeveloped resources, not seen as yet by the eye of civilized man, unpossessed but by the simple children of the forest. There stretched the iron chain of its mountain barriers, not yet the boundary of political communities; there rolled its mighty rivers unprofitably to the sea; there spread out the

measureless but as yet wasteful fertility of its uncultivated fields; there towered the gloomy majesty of its unsubdued primeval forests; there glittered in the secret caves of the earth the priceless treasures of its unsunned gold; and, more than all that pertains to material wealth, there existed the undeveloped capacity of a hundred embryo States; of an imperial confederacy of republics, the future abode of intelligent millions, unrevealed as yet to the 'earnest' but unconscious 'expectation' of the elder families of man, darkly hid by the impenetrable veil of waters. There is, to my mind, an overwhelming sadness in this long insulation of America from the brotherhood of humanity, not inappropriately reflected in the melancholy expression of the native races. The boldest keels of Phœnicia and Carthage had not approached its shores. From the footsteps of the ancient nations, along the highways of time and fortune—the embattled millions of the old Asiatic despotisms, the iron phalanx of Macedonia, the living, crushing machinery of the Roman legion, which ground the world to powder, the heavy tramp of barbarous nations from 'the populous north'—not the faintest echo had aroused the slumbering West in the cradle of her existence. Not a thrill of sympathy had shot across the Atlantic from the heroic adventure, the intellectual and artistic vitality, the convulsive struggles for freedom, the calamitous downfall of empires, and the strange new regenerations which fill the pages of ancient and mediæval history. Alike when the Oriental myriads, Assyrian, Chaldean, Median, Persian, Bactrian, from the snows of Syria to the Gulf of Ormus, from the Halys to the Indus, poured like a deluge upon Greece, and beat themselves to idle foam

on the seagirt rock of Salamis and the lowly plain of Marathon; when all the kingdoms of the earth went down with her own liberties in Rome's imperial mælstrom of blood and fire, and when the banded powers of the West, beneath the ensign of the Cross —as the pendulum of conquest swung backward— marched in scarcely intermitted procession for three centuries to the subjugation of Palestine, the American continent lay undiscovered, lonely, and waste. That mighty action and reaction upon each other of Europe and America—the grand systole and diastole of the heart of the nations, and which now constitutes so much of the organized life of both—had not yet begun to pulsate. The unconscious child and heir of the ages lay, wrapped in the mantle of futurity, upon the broad and nurturing bosom of Divine Providence, and slumbered serenely, like the infant of Danæ, through the storms of fifty centuries."

The vast scale on which North America is created, and the boundless resources and their unlimited variety, bespeak for the continent a future unknown to the nations of ancient or modern times, and to this end I shall address myself with all truth and soberness, and with a full realization that truth is more strange than fiction.

The character of a nation may be as clearly read in its physical features and topographical peculiarities as that of a man in the lineaments of his face, the contour of his form, the style of his carriage, or other marked idiosyncrasies. The character of the New World is indelibly impressed on the people of the New World, and I am here to address the people of the Old World, to talk with them about the greatness, the vast territorial extent, the topographical character, climates, and productive power of the continent

of North America, and to portray, in the language of simple truth, the greatness of a nation whose flag floats, and whose constitution is supreme over the greater part of the habitable domain of that continent.

I shall first address myself to the territorial extent, physical features, climates, and productive power of America, as contrasted with other countries. In territorial extent, we have under the rule of the constitution of the United States a superficial land surface of 3,603,884 square miles. The lakes and rivers have a united water surface of 396,116 square miles, and there is a total surface of 4,000,000 square miles. Our country, therefore, contains 747,000 square miles more than the empire of Brazil, 312,600 square miles more than the whole of Europe, and 27,000 square miles more than the Chinese Empire. The mean breadth of the United States is 2,390 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, while the distance from the northern to the southern boundary, exclusive of Alaska, is 1,840 miles. We have a sea-coast of 5,430 miles, and a lake shore of 6,000 miles.

Our inland rivers can be navigated for more than 22,000 miles, and the area of this English isle of yours, which represents so much of the life, wealth, power, and civilization of the world's people, is not so large by 7,030 square miles as the State of Missouri, which is my home. All the great rivers of Europe combined are not equal to the world-noted Mississippi. If the Frenchman or German is proud of his native land, let me suggest that France and Prussia might be set down in the single State of Texas, and still leave territory enough within its boundaries to make a kingdom as large as Belgium.

"The topographical construction of North America fits it to be the political home of one people, one nation." The rivers of Europe and Asia flow away in every direction, from a central elevation: those of this continent seek a central depression: hence in the former case, their populations tend to diffusion, and along every great system of streams distinct nations exist; with the latter there is a national tendency toward inter-communication, concentration, and union. That portion of the North American continent generally known as the United States consists for the most part of a vast valley, formed by three inclining planes. The first slopes gently from the Rocky Mountains on the west, until it reaches the bed of the Mississippi. The second descends from the Appalachian ranges in the East, and intersects the first along the line of that great river, the two conjointly forming the sides of the famous Mississippi Valley. This valley is shut in by the third great plane descending from the North. In the crevice of intersection between the first and third planes flows the majestic Missouri; in the crevice of intersection between the third and the second flows the Ohio river.

The first plane bears on its surface the *Red* and *Arkansas* rivers, with their vast system of subordinate streams; on the second are the Tennessee and the Cumberland, with their affiliated water, while along the third descends the Mississippi, flowing gently to the South, and receiving in succession all the others, until it results in forming, for some 250 miles from its mouth, a vast inland sea through which its waters are discharged into the Gulf of Mexico.

The Mississippi Valley covers an area of 2,455,115

square miles, and is equal in surface to all Europe, except Russia, Norway, and Sweden. It has no topographical obstructions, and is connected with vast inland seas. Three gateways open from it to the outer world. First, the Mississippi itself, leading to the West Indian seas in the South; second, the St. Lawrence, leading to the Atlantic on the East, and having lake expansions extending to the very heart of the valley, their shore line being fully 6,000 miles, and that of the St. Lawrence 3,000 more. On the south of the St. Lawrence there is a portion of New York. Third, the western gateway is through the south pass of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific. The rivers have a navigable shore line equal to that of the Atlantic Ocean.

Such is the Mississippi Valley, destined to be the home of peace, the safest and surest refuge of industry; no foreign intruder can ever disturb the inaccessible security of its inhabitants, because on the eastward the Atlantic States form the first and powerful barrier against foreign invasion, while the Alleghany Mountains present a line of defence impregnable against any enemy approaching from the East. On the westward the Pacific States would resist an invader, and the Sierras and Plains arrest his march. On the north, regions impassable in summer by reason of water, and in winter by reason of snows, shut in the valley from approach: while from the Gulf coast, as experience during the war of 1812, and in the recent civil war, abundantly proved, there is no pathway northward which could not easily be held against any invading force. Thus defended on all sides, with ample water facilities reaching throughout the whole interior for the transportation of forces towards any threatened point,

the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley are more secure from invasion than those of any other nation on earth. The time may come when this advantage will become an important one. But on the other hand no country in Europe is thus secure. Hostile armies have more than once trampled the grain of the richest fields of Germany, Italy, Austria, and France, and even the snows of Russia have not always proved a shield of protection. Between the hostile races and irreconcilable creeds of Europe there can be no enduring peace, and the costly military establishment of every nation must there burden its industry, and the constant dread of war repress its enterprise. For this reason, even more than because of density of population, there is certain to be a constant migration from lands where industry must be always burdened and never secure, to the home of perpetual peace in that great valley which no invader can ever penetrate. In the forcible language of De Tocqueville, "The valley of the Mississippi is, upon the whole, the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode." I have laid much stress upon this special physical feature of the North American continent, because I believe the valley of the Mississippi is destined at no distant day to be the greatest theatre of human activity on the globe. Is it not evident beyond all question that between the two great mountain ranges of the continent, and from our northern boundary to the Gulf, must soon reside a vast population, more powerful in war and more prosperous in peace than can be found anywhere else on the earth? In short, it must be in the grand valley where the two waves of civilization—one rolling in from the Celestial Empire, and the other from the land of Alfred and Charlemagne—

will meet and commingle together in one great swelling tide of humanity, in the land of Hiawatha.

Does not all evidence point to such a conclusion? Are not all the tendencies of our commerce and civilization in that direction to-day? In the bosom of that great valley all the extremes of the country are now represented, and to its growth all parts of the country constantly contribute.

Towards the Atlantic ocean on the East, and the Pacific on the West, this grand valley is bordered by very important territories. On the east there descends from the Alleghanies what is known as the "Atlantic Border," a slope which does not terminate at the shore, but continues under the Atlantic ocean. This Atlantic border forms the north and south planks of the Alleghany Ridge, in the latter direction gradually merging in the Mississippi. Its rivers are for the most part short and rapid. Its mountain ridges are not high enough to give contrasts of climate on their opposite sides; both are equally watered and wooded, nor have they influence enough to disturb the general climate. This Atlantic border is memorable in American history as containing the original thirteen States, and as being the theatre of the events of the Revolutionary war. Beyond the Mississippi Valley on the west there are lofty plateaus, and arid basins not inferior to those of Asia itself, and there are apparently interminable saline plains, with a surface like that of the Caspian territory, regions having no exterior drainage to the sea. The chief topographical feature may be described as a subordinate valley, running nearly parallel to that of the Mississippi, and known as the "Great Basin." It is included between the Rocky Mountains on the one side, and Sierra Nevada on the other, and is a valley of high

elevation, being 4,000 or 5,000 feet above that of the Mississippi, a gallery in that grand theatre. Beyond this great basin, and the snowy ranges of the Sierra Nevada, another slope, interrupted by what is termed the "Coast Range," descends to the Pacific ocean. Its rivers are short and rapid, with the exception of the "Columbia," whose head waters are in the Rocky chain, and which forces its way through the Cascade Range into the Pacific ocean. The gorge in the cascades through which the river delivers its drainage from a surface of 300,000 square miles is marked by a succession of terraces, which indicates the subsidence of what was once a vast inland sea. The country here as far north as 58 degrees is the American counterpart of Germany, while Vancouver's Island on the coast resembles the British Islands in its meteorology. It has cool summers, warm winters, and a moist climate. The Cascade Range is full of picturesque and sublime scenery. It towers far above the Rocky Mountains, its culminating peaks rivalling in grandeur the most celebrated mountains in the world. Mount Hood, covered with its dense firs, its pyramid crest passing into the region of eternal snow, surpasses Mont Blanc in altitude more than 2,000 feet.

Such are in brief the physical characteristics and the topographical features of the North American continent, the primeval land of the globe, and the *promised land* of the world's people. The climate of the Mississippi Valley of the United States is that under which all great nations have advanced to power, that which all history proves to be the best adapted to the intellectual growth of man. A superintending Providence, in His inscrutable wisdom, withheld North America from the elder families

of man in obedience to divine dispensation, and it slumbered serenely in the embrace of two oceans while the Aryan and the Semitic races were struggling in Europe and Asia for the ascendancy through centuries and eons of calamitous conflict; an impenetrable veil of waters shut out this great hemisphere from the gaze of primeval man, and it remained the special patrimony of God, with only a sensuous life to inhabit its vast domains, until the frontier thought of Europe sent forth Columbus in a new ark through the gates of the sea to search for a new creation, a New World. Can we not recognize in this the hand of Providence or of destiny? Why was it that the boldest keels of Phœnicia, of Carthage, and of Rome, failed in their westward course through the pillars of Hercules to reach further than the Hesperides and the Balearic Isles? Why was it that the Land's End of England was for centuries the "Ultima Thule" of ancient navigators? Why? Because in the divine economy a beneficent Providence had reserved this western hemisphere as the future and final field of human activity on this globe; it was decreed from eternity by divine wisdom, that here on this great land of the New World the various tribes and nationalities of the world's people should be called together in their descendants and representatives, and league themselves in a brotherhood of common humanity for the industrial and commercial conquest of the world. In the order of Superior Wisdom it was appointed by Him who fixes the streams and the tides, that these lands of the New World were to be the chosen seat of population, power, and production on this globe; that here whence the creative power of Deity had exerted its greatest energies in creating the lands and waters and enrich-

ing them with minerals, with productive power, and with the capacity for superior use, would ere long follow a long succession of prosperous years, in which man would accomplish his highest achievements on this planet.

The physical characteristics of the United States will tend to collusions among its people, of such varied nationalities, and will preserve that union, in which we take such a justifiable pride, from being permanently disrupted. Take, for instance, the Mississippi Valley. That great river, the historic "Father of Waters," flows through about 23 degrees of latitude, reckoning from the sources of the Milk River, a branch of the Missouri, to the mouth of the Southwest Pass. It traverses almost every variety of climate, from that which is semi-tropical as it debouches in the Gulf of Mexico, to that which verges on the frigid zone in the great Northwest; its various tributaries, with arms like those of the fabled Briareus, grasp and hold a region in which there is every variety of soil and atmospheric condition requisite for the human family in any stage of progressive development. Along such an extended water route there must be a continual stimulus for trade, a continual interchange of commodities, and there cannot be discord along the line of commerce. The unity and harmony of interest pervading the Mississippi Valley must, in the future as in the past, inure to the strength and stability of the nation of the United States. Said Gen. Banks, when in command at New Orleans, during the third year after the outbreak of the Civil War: "The valley of the Mississippi is the chosen seat of population, product, and power on this continent. In a few years 30,000,000 people, unsurpassed in material resources and capacity for

war, will swarm along the fertile river. Those who assume to set conditions on the exodus to the Gulf of Mexico, count upon a power not given to man. The country washed by the waters of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri, can never be permanently severed: if one generation barters away its rights, immortal honours will rest upon another that reclaims them. Let it never be said, either, that the East and the West may separate. Thirty days' distance from the markets of Europe may satisfy the wants of Louisiana and Arkansas, but it will not answer the demands of Illinois and Ohio. The valley of the Mississippi will have its deltas upon the Atlantic. The physical force of the West will debouch upon its shores with a power as resistless as the torrents of the giant river. This country cannot be permanently divided. Ceaseless war may drain its treasuries, domestic tyrants or foreign foes may grasp the sceptre of its power, but its destiny will remain unchanged, it will still be united. God has ordained it."

It was a stern conviction in the principles thus enunciated that banded the North together as a unit to overcome secession, because in such secession they recognised an effort to place the mouth of the Mississippi under the control of a foreign power, and to that effort they opposed a resistance more stern and uncompromising than that of any other section of the country. To New England that resistance was mainly a matter of sentiment and conviction: to New York and Pennsylvania, of trade: but to the people of the Northwest there was added a sense of imperious necessity. There is no argument so strong in favour of the determination of the people of this valley to maintain one flag and one constitution over its wide domain, as that furnished by the late

Civil War. When the States of New York and Massachusetts filled their quota in part with money, the States of the Northwest sent only hardy and determined men, whose hearts were in the cause. They went to hew their way from the Lakes to the Gulf; and their energy, their spirit, and their leaders, finally turned the scale and assured the triumph of the Union. The divided South was unable to withstand such a resolute spirit, such self-sacrificing efforts. Regiments from the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas, swelled the Union forces. Throughout the Southwest, strong as was the feeling of hostility towards the East, there was a profound feeling of attraction towards the Northwest, and a conviction that both were and must of necessity ever be parts of an indivisible nationality.

A noticeable feature of the mountain system of America is that instead of rising precipitously from the plain, and in what may be termed bold proportions to the surface on which it rests, that the Rocky Mountain region is to all intents and purposes a broad and gentle swell of the surface, with a base of a 1,000 miles, its eastern slope continuing for six hundred miles, and its western for four or five hundred miles, the inclination being on an average ten feet to the mile. The passes on the summit have a height from six to ten thousand feet, the ridges carrying the elevation more abruptly to twelve or fourteen thousand feet. This fact is strikingly illustrated by General Fremont in his trans-continental surveys; he described the ascent through the South Pass as not unlike that of the hill of the capital of Washington. The mountain system of North America is also continued on to the South American continent, and there is an unbroken line of mountain ranges

from Patagonia to the vicinity of the great lakes. It is needless to say that the time in all probability will come, when this backbone of the western hemisphere will be utilized for an international railway, which will facilitate the north and south movement of traffic, connect North America with Equatorial and South America, and which will furnish a line that can be traversed at all seasons of the year, without subjecting the traveller to any of the numerous diseases incidental to torrid zones and tropical climates.

Relative to the Rainfall in North America, it may be stated that it has rarely any relation to the configuration of the country, and that the quantity diminishes as one approaches the Rocky Mountains; but there is a remarkable symmetry and uniformity in the amount of rain over large areas. From this fact it may be inferred that the supply comes from remote sources, and that the causes inducing such a constant precipitation are not to be found in the configuration of the country; also that there is a close relation between the quantity of water precipitated and the temperature. Modern science has exploded many former ideas about the world's surface. There has been handed down to us from classical antiquity an arrangement of zones: the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid, and these terms are still usefully employed in their popular significance; but the facts which they were supposed to embody have no real occurrence in nature; correctly speaking, no such zones exist, and the heat of places does not correspond to their latitudes. For example, Vancouver's Island, which is 16° north of New Mexico, is on the same isothermal line, and that line passes thence nearly five degrees north before striking across the continent in a due easterly direction to New Haven

and Nantucket. This conception of isothermal lines was originated by Humboldt, and the importance of the principle is now generally recognized, while the construction of the Northern and Canadian Pacific Railroad lines testifies unequivocally to the general belief in isothermal conditions, and the influence which they exercise on agriculture and social life.

The great American valley is drained for the most part by the Mississippi and its tributaries, of which the Missouri, coming through Dakota, brings down about one-seventh of the water furnished to its territory by the rains, while the Ohio and Mississippi each bring down about one-fourth of the supply. The average annual discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, as shown by Humphreys and Abbott in their report upon the Mississippi River, based upon surveys and investigations made under Acts of Congress, is 19,500,000,000,000 of cubic feet (nearly twenty trillions). The solid material annually brought down by the river, either in suppression as silt, or pushed on bodily before it, is equal to a mass of one square mile in surface, and 268 feet thick. This represents the wear and tear of the valley, or its loss of material by denuding causes. It must not be imagined, however, that all sections of North America are equally as well situated as the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic border. From the point where the Rocky Mountains and the Coast Range merge into one in British America, southward to near the latitude of the city of Mexico, a region extending through seventeen degrees of latitude and ten of longitude, there is an area of deficient rain, drained by two rivers, the Columbia and the Colorado; and since they receive their volume mostly from the

mountains, it may be said that there are 400,000 square miles of American surface, or an area of nearly equal to that of France and Germany combined, which sends no rivers to the sea.

Relative to climates, the succession through which the Mississippi River flows is very striking. The mean yearly temperature of the region of its source in Minnesota is 40°. The mean yearly temperature at its mouth is 72° : in other words, the heat increases from 40° to 72° as the point of observation is more southerly along a line of about 2,000 miles. The variations of the vegetable products correspond with the climatic changes. In the upper portion, as far as the Hatchee, it is corn; thence to the Red River, cotton; thence sugar. There are orange groves near the mouth. To the willow, sycamore, and locust of the north, are gradually added the cypress, the persimmon, and the ash : lower down the bay tree, the magnolia, and the palmetto. The forest regions of North America, when they assume their autumnal splendor, display a variety of hue and a magnificence of colour altogether unknown in Europe, and add a melancholy glory to the departing year. The distribution of heat in the Eastern States on the Atlantic border is comparatively uniform, but it is very different in the West. In the valley of the Colorado the mean heat of the summer rises to 90°. Across the mountains on the coast it is only 60°. In places but an insignificant distance apart there are the most violent contrasts. Thus in the San Joaquin valley the mean summer heat at 3 p.m. is 108°, while at Montery, on the Pacific, 150 miles distant, the corresponding mean heat is 63°, a difference of 45°.

From this cursory allusion to the physical characteristics of the North American continent, and more

especially of the United States, I pass to consider the productive power of the country. It is no exaggeration to say that this continent is transcendant in its varied richness, and that its capacity to produce all the material, not merely for food, clothing, and shelter, but for the luxuries of life, cannot be equaled anywhere else on the globe. Our cornfields, our forests, our iron and stone, and our precious metals, transcend, in quantity, those of any other continent. On the north of the United States we have the dominion of Canada, covering an area of 3,488,953 square miles, with a population now numbering more than 4,000,000. A great portion of Canada, more especially that abutting on Lake Superior, is most valuable for mineral resources. Here are found in great abundance iron, zinc, lead, copper, silver, gold, cobalt, gypsum, granite, sandstone, slate, and marbles of nearly every imaginable colour. There are other portions also, which, though heavily timbered, chiefly with pine, are yet but little adapted for settlement and cultivation, and towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence a considerable section derives importance mainly from the fisheries, being, with partial exceptions in Gasper, comparatively worthless for every other object. Hence the area available for the production of cereals and other agricultural products in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, is only nine per cent. of the total, or about 40,000 square miles. This, however, contains land which, for the blending of pasturage and agriculture, is perhaps the best in the country, and the wheat grown in the basin of the Ottawa is pronounced equal to any produced on the whole continent. No reference is here made to the province of Manitoba, which is 2,892,734 square miles, or more

than 80 per cent. of the whole land in the dominion, but it is believed that when the Canadian Pacific Railroad reaches that point its food-producing qualities will be clearly demonstrated, and its wheat will become an important commodity with the wheat of the United States in the markets of the world.

The exports of domestic merchandise from our country during the year ending June 30, 1878, were 680,709,268 dols., of which the most important items were agricultural implements, live stock, corn, oats, wheat, flour, coal, copper, cotton, drugs, furs, gold and silver bullion, locomotives, machinery, fire-arms, leather, fertilizers, naval stores, oil-cake, petroleum, cotton-seed, ordnance stores, provision, cheese, quick-silver, sewing-machines, turpentine, tallow, tobacco, lumber of all descriptions, staves, and wool. This list of itself furnishes abundant proof of the fertility of our resources, and the ability of the United States, under anything like ordinary conditions of tariff and transportation, to compete for the commerce of the world. During the past decade there has been an increase of more than 153 per cent. in the value of domestic exports; which is mainly due to the growth of the exportations of the following commodities:

	1868 dols.	1878 dols.	INCREASE. dols.
Agricultural Implements	673,381	2,575,198	1,901,817
Live Stock	733,395	5,844,653	5,111,258
Bread and Bread Stuffs...	69,024,059	181,777,841	112,753,712
Coal	1,516,226	2,359,467	843,247
Copper, Brass, and manufactures of	939,250	3,078,372	2,139,138
Cotton, manufactures of	4,871,054	11,438,660	6,567,606
Iron, Steel, and manufactures of	8,258,900	15,882,508	7,623,808
Leather and manufactures of	1,414,372	8,080,030	6,665,658
Oil Cake	2,913,448	5,095,163	2,181,715
Petroleum	21,810,676	46,574,974	24,764,298
Provisions	30,436,642	123,556,323	93,119,681
Sugar	335,678	4,878,407	4,542,729
Total	142,926,875	411,141,596	268,214,721

The exports of tobacco for the same period amounted to upwards of 32,000,000 dols. There are four main articles of export from the United States: provisions—including bread—cotton, petroleum, and tobacco. In a former time it was said that cotton was king. It is doubtful now whether bread and breadstuffs do not rule the markets. The value of the bread and breadstuffs exported during the year ending June 30th, 1878, amounted to 181,771,841 dols., as against 180,270,000 dols., the value of cotton exported in a manufactured and unmanufactured state during the same period. It is estimated that the corn crop of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, alone amounts to more than 800,000,000 bushels annually. The prairies and grass-growing regions between the Rocky Mountains and the Rio Grande can support cattle enough to feed the whole continent of Europe in addition to our own; while the varied climate of the United States enables it to produce everything, from tropical fruits to the hardy cereals and grasses of a more northern latitude. It is not merely in live-stock and agricultural production that the United States is rich; it is not merely in its vast farms and boundless pastures that we trace the productive power of the country. Its rivers and lakes teem with fish, its forests and their outcome are practically inexhaustible, its stores of iron and coal are boundless, and to the inestimable metal wealth of California may be added that of Colorado and Arizona, while experience has demonstrated very clearly the truth of the old saying, "Where sterility begins the country is full of gold and silver."

The rapid growth of the United States may be attributed, however, to our intelligent operations of

coal mines, the importance of which may be inferred from the fact that in twelve States alone, with an area of 565,283 square miles, the coal areas are 133,132 square miles, or nearly one-fourth of the whole. The coal area of the whole country may be estimated at 200,000 square miles, of which fully 199,000 square miles are bituminous coal.

This area is twenty times larger than that of Great Britain and Ireland, and its supply is practically inexhaustible.

Let us stop for a few moments and consider the part which coal has played in the advancement and material progress of the human family. This is essentially the age of commerce and steam, and the foundations of these are our coal mines. In the machine shop and factory, at our mines and our foundries, on the railroad and canal, on the rivers and on the ocean, steam is the motor to perform the labor, overcome resistance and vanquish space, and it is not for human intellect to assign a limit to the application for this power in a country like that in which it is my fortunate lot to live, intersected as it is by great rivers and penetrated by numerous bays, with an extensive sea-board, lined by flourishing cities, and possessing along with boundless enterprise all the inherent elements of national wealth. Look where we will, the evidence of the truth that we live in an age, the progress of which is not to be measured by examples or by precedents taken from the history of the past, is before us. Take for instance the iron and the steel trade. There was in fact no appreciable iron trade, and indeed but little trade at all in the present ordinary use of that word, prior to the introduction of the steam engine, an instrument of power deriving its efficiency almost entirely from coal,

which, through its agency, has given birth to modern commerce, to modern enterprise, and a mighty impulse to modern civilization.

Fifty years ago, within the memory of many now living, those magnificent floating palaces which now give life to the Delaware, to the Hudson, the Mississippi, and other inland rivers, had no existence save in the imaginations of those who were then considered wild and visionary enthusiasts. Now every year brings forth new specimens, each in its turn regarded as the noblest creation of bold invention, and each week almost presents some new enterprise by which our Atlantic cities are brought into closer connection with each other, and with foreign ports.

Thirty-five years ago the use of steam on the ocean had but just commenced; now there are lines of superior steamers, equipped with every luxury and comfort, plying between America and Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Glasgow, Belfast, Havre, Bremen, Hamburg, and Mediterranean ports. All these steamers are of English workmanship, but the United States also has its special Liverpool line, built by Cramp & Co., of Philadelphia; and these vessels have made the names of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, household words with the travelling and shipping public. Our Pacific mail steamers also, such as the "City of Tokio," and the "City of Pekin," built by Mr. John Roach, at Chester, on the Delaware, will compare favourably, for speed and staunchness, with any that stem the billows of the fierce Atlantic. Neither must I omit what are known as the Sound steamers, which carry passengers up the Sound *en route* to Boston and other New England cities; and which for speed, magnificent finish, and comfort, as well as for their

cuisine, cannot be surpassed by any steamers which float on the waters of the globe. The "Bristol" and the "Providence," of what is known as the Fall River Line, and the "Rhode Island," the "Massachusetts," and the "Narragansett," of the Providence and Stonington Line, have a world-wide reputation, and I am certain there are many in this land who can testify from personal experience to the correctness of these representations. We could not have enjoyed any of these luxuries of modern travel without steam, and inferentially without coal.

It is a source of great congratulation to us in America, that this important factor in our transportation, in our commerce and manufactures, is practically inexhaustible; that it is cheap, and that a beneficent Providence has underlaid almost the whole country with it, so that poor and rich can alike participate in its use, and in its multitudinous benefits. We are proud to know that American coal is being rapidly introduced in Europe, and that we may be instrumental not merely in feeding the masses, but in stimulating manufacturers and fostering the individual pursuits of the Old World. Let us consider: Each railway requires iron for its track, its bridges, its viaducts, its engines and its cars; each new steamer requires coal to drive it, iron for its engine and for its hull, and five tons of coal for each ton of iron used in its construction; every steamer which is launched, and every road that is forced into the interior, gives birth to new enterprises, new wants, new commerce. The manufacture of the iron, and the propulsion of the machinery, require coal. The quantity increases with the expansion of our even now extended railway system; the system extends the area of civilized population,

and consequent agricultural wealth. This wealth needs transportation, and this transportation again needs coal and iron. M. Michael Chevallier remarked, some thirty years ago: "It is as yesterday only, so to say, that steam has been employed as a moving power, and yet it already furnishes the globe with a force estimated at more than *ten millions of horses* or *sixty millions of men.* Coal is one of the greatest blessings given to us by a wise Creator, because it is the essential agent of all industry. Through it the powers of man are centripled; he is no longer the serf of the creation, he is rather the king; the barons of feudality have made room by their side for the nobility produced by industry. The sword commands no more; it is capital which commands. To a state of strife, of war-like antagonism, succeed a régime of industrial competition of exchanges. Men know themselves and each other better; national characteristics are obliterated: it seems that humanity is invested with a new form, organization is established between States, and between continents. I have spoken at such length about the coal of the United States, because it is through the primal agency of coal that what may be termed the manhood of America has been developed up to the present standard, and that we have been able to prove to the world that a republic, resting on free institutions and universal education, can maintain itself undismayed in the shock of war, and calm in the hour of triumph. It was through coal and its instruments, the foundry and iron, that we were enabled to roll back the tide of war, and maintain the integrity of the Union which we love. If, as Pericles said of his Athenian countrymen, we are the only people of our times who have been found to be greater by experience

than by report; if we have risen suddenly to a prominent place in the scale of nations, and attained to an unprecedented height of glory and power, let us never forget that it was not merely through those who have fallen on our battlefields, and who have made the American continent a sepulchre of illustrious men, but through the agencies of nature, through our inexhaustible coal deposits.

Having alluded at considerable length to the physical characteristics of our New World and its productive powers, I will pass to consider the government and civilization of the United States, the greatest power on the North American continent. And here it may be noted that the colonization of North America may be considered as having been conducted by three western European nations, Spain, France, and England; because although Sweden, by its settlements on the Delaware, and Holland, by its establishments in New York, participated in the movement, still the share taken by them was so subordinate, as scarcely to influence the result. At the time of the discovery of America, Italy took no part in its colonization, because although Columbus was a Genoese by birth, his country had its special lines of trade and commercial depots, which were entirely in an easterly direction, and no efforts were made by its merchants to accommodate themselves to a great mercantile revolution, which transferred commercial activity from upper Italy to those nations that had a port upon the broad Atlantic. A fabled fountain of immortality, and mythical rivers flowing through golden sands, allured Spain to attempt the colonization of Florida. Less romantic and less splendid, but far more important in its results, the cod fisheries of Newfoundland led France to the

settlement of Canada, and to the exploration of the Mississippi River to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico. A volume might be written about the labours and trials of those Jesuit fathers whose names are indelibly sculptured on the history of America, and who in their zeal to make converts to their faith, counted their lives as nothing in exploring the wilds of western and southern America, and tracing the Mississippi River to its confluence with the Gulf of Mexico; but they planted the flag of their country in the great central valley of North America, and under the name of Louisiana, claimed for the French monarch a vast territory, comprising what is now known as Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, — in brief, the whole country through which the affluents of the Mississippi River, on its west side, descend in their course to the ocean.

This vast territory the French ceded to Spain in 1762. In 1800, Napoleon, then first consul, induced Spain to retrocede it to France, and in 1803, fearing that it might be seized by England, he sold it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars. England obtained a foothold in the New World, and the English colonization of the Atlantic slope of North America eventually, although gradually, obliterated completely the influence of France and Spain throughout that region. The incentive to the movements of Spain in America, was gold; that of France, the fisheries, combined with an ecclesiastical mania for the conversion of the Indian tribes. The incentive of England was tobacco, that weed which, brought into fashionable use by Sir Walter Raleigh, was even then affirmed to be less noxious in its narcotic effects than opium, and was prescribed to calm the agitations of

the corporeal frame, while it soothed the anxieties and distresses of the mind. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the whole Atlantic coast from Halifax to Cape Fear passed under the designation of Virginia, but her successor, James I., granted it by charter to two companies for settlement. The southern portion was given to the London, and the northern to the Plymouth company. The former was governed entirely by material interests, the latter by ideas and by religious sentiments. In the southern portion was found the aristocratic element, which, despite some incongruous mixtures, adhered firmly to their king, and established churches: while in the northern, freedom of thought and liberty of interpretation were the dominant dogmas. Men congregated here who believed that because England had protested against the errors of the Church of Rome, therefore they as individuals had a right to dissent from the new Church of England, and to become, in every sense of the word, non-conformists, or, as they were then generically termed, Puritans. It is needless to trace the various steps by which these martyrs to an idea, an abstract theory, were induced to disintegrate themselves from their mother country, and to brave a wintry passage across the Atlantic in 1620. The "Mayflower" and "Plymouth Rock" have left an indelible impress on our national history, because in that vessel and on that then barren shore were cradled those principles of liberty and progress, which have tended perhaps more than any other agencies to elevate the United States to its present pinnacle of greatness, and to develop those traits of national character which must render our people through the ages of the future the peers of the civilized and intelligent world.

Allusion is specially made to these early and distinctive features of English colonization in North America, because they have exercised an important influence on the government and civilisation of the United States, and by them the national character has been moulded into a form of surpassing symmetry and beauty.

For many years prior to the Declaration of Independence, the necessity of a union among the various colonies, as they were then termed, had been recognised, and this not merely for self-preservation, but for the purpose of educating the inhabitants of the colonies into the doctrine that they could not be independent States, but members of the same nation: hence when the United Colonies had emancipated themselves from allegiance to Great Britain, there was no difficulty about a federation of States, even though there were so many divergent interests, but there was a difficulty in organizing a nation and establishing a government upon the issues and principles involved in the great declaration of human rights. History furnishes no account of a permanent government of whatsoever form, much less of a free Republic. The people of every age had experimented upon the various forms of government; wise and good men had often sought to secure liberty for the people, but all in vain. The highway of time was strewn with the wrecks of nations, and martyrs had died in every land to purchase liberty and to insure progress for the people. All history, with its saddening lessons of foreign and internecine wars, of the rise and fall of nations, of the relentless rule of tyrants, and the sufferings of the people, confronted the nation-makers of the then infant colonies, and they

were alone, without a model, without a successful example of a permanent and enduring government after which to form the nation of the future demanded at their hands. The history of the past showed that liberty was little else than a myth, and that ambition was an element of the mind, slow in its growth, but destructive in its tendency. Yet, in the face of all the lessons of history, and in spite of the seductive temptations that were offered to ambition, the framers of the constitution of the United States lost no time in rearing the fabric of government under which the American people now live. They ransacked all history, studied and weighed the principles of every form of government, and profited by the lessons afforded by each; they then "constructed out of feebly connected federal associations one people—an American nation." They appealed from the lessons of history to the human heart, and there found the impulses and the yearning that inspired the true form of government for the American people and for the American continent—nay, it might be said truly, for the whole human family. Said Mr. Madison, "Is it not the glory of the people of America that whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience?" Said Alexander Hamilton, in speaking of the independent position taken by the framers of the constitution, "To this manly and independent spirit posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for the example, of numerous innovations on the American theatre in favour

of private rights and public happiness. Had no important steps been taken by the leaders of the revolution, for which a precedent could not be discovered: no government established, of which an exact model did not present itself, the people of the United States might at this moment be numbered among the melancholy victims of misguided councils—must at least have been labouring under the weight of some of those forms which have crushed the liberties of the rest of mankind. Happily for America—happily, we trust, for the whole human race—they pursued a new and more noble course. They accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of human society, and then reared a fabric of government which has no model on the face of the globe. They formed the design of a confederacy which it is incumbent on their successors to improve and perpetuate." In determining, however, the form of government of the United States, the architects of our nation determined to found it upon two essential conditions, *liberty* and *perpetuity*. Two of our greatest statesmen, Hamilton and Jefferson, respectively represented these two conditions of political society. Hamilton desired a free nation with all the elements of strength essential to its perpetuity through the years and centuries of the future. He proceeded upon the hypothesis that there was no liberty but the liberty of the law, and that there was no government but the government of the law. Jefferson, on the other hand, desired a free people, who would of themselves perpetuate their government and consolidate it, not by force, but by intuitive appreciation of its excellence.

The experience of nearly 100 years has demonstrated satisfactorily not merely to our own people,

but to the whole world, that the constitution of the United States is equal to any emergency which may arise in the life of a nation, that a Republic may be extended over a large region, and that the form of government prescribed by that constitution is susceptible of indefinite expansion without growing weaker. In fact growth with us does not, as in the case of many other governments, indicate approaching declension; on the contrary, it is identical with increasing power, and increased national influence. Of course, in framing this government, great caution had to be exercised so as to prevent the individuality of the citizen and the individuality of each State from being overshadowed by the general government, and the unity and power of the Republic from being absorbed by centralisation; but the safeguards placed by the illustrious framers of our constitution against any abuse of the principles which underlaid the government have stood the test of unexpected contingencies, and have shielded the nation from any aggressive tendencies.

The history of the United States has successfully demonstrated the ability of its rulers, not merely to create power, but to regulate it, and we have been fortunate enough in our country to solve a problem which in other climes, and under different conditions, has exercised the mind and puzzled the intellect of some of the world's brightest and most accomplished statesmen. But for the possession of this ability we are largely indebted to the genius and prescience of those who erected the fabric of our government, and who recognised the efficacy of various principles " which were not known at all, or imperfectly known, to the ancients. The regular distribution of power into distinct departments; the introduction of legis-

lative balances and checks; the institution of courts composed of judges, in most instances elected by the people, and holding their offices during good behaviour; the representation of the people in the legislation by deputies of their own election, were altogether novelties" in the then scheme of government as prevalent throughout the civilised world; but with us the novelties have worked well, and they have proved powerful agencies in retaining the excellence of republican government, and in lessening or avoiding its imperfections. These balancing provisions, as they may be very appropriately termed, through being made an organic part of the constitution, integral and pervasive, have established its character and capacity for the exercise of such distribution of political power to the federal family, and have made it the supreme law of the land. It was made so by the genius and masterful mind of Alexander Hamilton, and it was so defended by the great, the immortal Webster. It was made the supreme law of the land, a shield over all and for all. It is truly a great law, a law indigenous to the continent of North America. One special feature or characteristic of our government is that it possesses in its organic nature the power of indefinite expansion without weakening. Said Mr. Madison, "The greater number of citizens and extent of territory, which may be brought together in a republican government, renders factious combinations less to be dreaded. The smaller the society, the fewer probably will be the distinct parties and interests composing it; the fewer the distinct parties and interests, the more frequently will a majority be found of the same party, and the smaller the number of individuals composing a majority, and the smaller the

compass within which they are placed, the more easily will they concert and execute their plans of oppression. But by extending the sphere, there is taken in a great variety of parties and interests, and it is less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens." This doctrine, as enunciated by Madison in the infancy of our government, points out what may be appropriately termed the political gravity in our national life, and the balancing or compensating power which is the source of political and national security. We are justly proud of our government, and of a constitution which renders the exercise of power possible without centralization. We are proud of it because we have seen its ability to arch a continent, its islands and seas, and to unite all their people under one government, and impress them with one destiny. A century has not yet rolled away, but a vast and mighty nation has already grown up under the controlling and protecting provisions of the constitution of the fathers of the American Republic. Quickened into life and matured to sovereignty by its magic touch, State after State has been added to the American Union, and each yielding to an irresistible law of political attraction, has sought a new life in becoming a part of the great national whole; star after star has arisen in the political skies, and added a new luminary to the flag of our country. High above this constellated ensign of the republic, and upon the wide ethereal dome of heaven, over-arching the continent itself, is written in everlasting characters: "We, the People of the United States!" Not a part, but *all* the people. Not the rulers alone, but all the citizens; not alone the rich and the powerful, not alone one

dominant race, but the whole people, rich and poor alike, from every clime and of every caste, all are made one people by the constitution. Great God what a nation!! What a sublime spectacle for men and angels to look upon!! Said Castelar, that grand man of Spain, "It is a nation over which humanity will eternally shed its blessings and God his benedictions," and well might the sun again have stood still in the heavens to behold such a nation born into existence.

Of course there are some imperfections in our mode of government, but I do not hesitate to say that a constitution and form of government which can achieve such greatness in the affairs of the human race, perfectly compatible with the most beneficent ends of intellectual and moral existence, without manifesting the least symptoms of self-destruction, must in the very nature of things proclaim to the world its own great mission, the goal which it is destined to reach. There are doubtless some who will argue, and not without some plausibility, that the United States, by extending its government over such a vast area, must eventually share the fate of other nations which have fallen of their own weight, and strangled themselves by their own obesity. Such will point to the decline and fall of the Assyrian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires, but the cases are not analogous. Those empires did not decay because of the great areas under their control, but because there was no cohesion, and no sympathy among the various parts, and because the primitive simplicity and frugal habits of their original founders were superseded by habits of extravagance, by luxurious dissipation, and by refinement in vice of every description. With us there is a common interest,

and the United States is a practical ideal of a body corporate, through every vein and artery of which courses the life-giving blood of universal liberty and equality, and of a freedom in thought and action which is entirely at variance with the conditions under which other powers have extended their possessions and ruled their subjects. Ours is a government of political affinities, not of fear; of independence, not coercion. And here again nature appears on the scene as our ally, in perpetuating the government of our fathers. The valley of the Mississippi must ever remain the home of one political society, and must be strong enough to bind to it all other diverse sections of the continent without endangering the political unity of the whole; hence with an accurate knowledge of the resources and possibilities of that valley, of its power and influence, we are forced to the conviction that no extent of territorial domain on our continent can ever endanger the unity of our republic, or jeopardise the stability of our government. Aside, however, from the internal evidence and experience of our people, and the stability of our own political institutions, we are taught great lessons in history, from which we draw encouragement. Tracing the history of the earth's people as they have grown up along the path of empire, we find that the extension of national domain, even under less favourable forms of government, did not engender more internal strife among the people, nor cause the great nations of the past to run more rapid careers, than was fated to those political organisms which were confined to comparatively small areas. The Macedonian Empire, under Alexander the Great, had an area of 2,900,000 square miles, begin much larger than the valley of the Mississippi. The

Assyrian Empire had an area of 1,300,000 square miles. The Medo-Persian Empire had an area of 1,900,000 square miles, and was succeeded by the Roman Empire, which had an area of 2,654,000 square miles, and a population of 190,000,000 of people under Augustus. The Empire of Charlemagne had an area of 806,000 square miles, and was more than double the size of the original thirteen States. The Chinese Empire of to-day has an area of 3,743,000 square miles, and the English flag floats over 8,400,000 square miles, more than double of that which is embraced under the ægis of the American Constitution. I have alluded to the strength of our government as based on the freedom and equality of all. To these fundamental principles must be super-added JUSTICE TO ALL. The first century of our national life witnessed a conflict between two antagonistic forces in political society unexampled in either ancient or modern history. Similar rivalries, resulting from varied ideas, may again take such a shape as to shake the foundations of our government, and imperil its very existence; but the nation and the government can be held together under all circumstances by a wise and comprehensive statesmanship which recognizes as its animating principle JUSTICE TO ALL. On this alone can the vast structure of the future Republic solidly stand. A great nation must recognize principle, and not form, as its rule of life, and not hesitate to modify its written constitution according to its improving growth. It must recognize as a fundamental principle that there is no government but the government of law, and the people must learn that there is no liberty but the liberty of law.

Turning to the civilization of the United States,

of which, equally with our constitution and our government, we feel justly proud, I would remark that the same all-wise Providence which decreed that this land should for more than fifty centuries lie upon the surface of the globe unknown to the rest of the world, in all its vast extent, with all its boundless, undeveloped resources, not seen by the eyes of civilized man, and unpossessed but by the simple children of the forest, to become eventually an imperial Confederacy of Republics, and the abode of intelligent millions; also decreed that on this New World should be congregated living exponents of all that is good and noble in human character; that under their influence, aided by climatic, geographical, political, and moral conditions, the dark chaotic night of barbarism, which brooded over our beloved America three centuries ago, should be slowly but surely dissipated, and the New World illuminated by the suns of intellectual and moral culture, under whose beneficent rays lovely creations of art and knowledge should bloom and flourish perennially. The same Providence which reserved this Continent as a special patrimony for the world's people, and, in many instances, for suffering humanity, also decreed that here should be the theatre where educated mind might display its sovereign power.

The first European settlers brought with them to their adopted home, in various measures, the intellectual culture of the Old World—some in a high degree, but a majority that portion which falls to the average lot of the mass of the community, and which places the day-labourer of Europe and America—who reads a good newspaper week-days and goes to Church on Sundays—in many respects on a higher level of intelligence than the Sultan of Turkey

or the Shah of Persia. Assuming the seventeenth century as the period of colonization, the first settlers of North America were contemporaneous with Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton, and Newton, among the English writers, and with such European intellects as Grotius, Pascal, Descartes, Bossuet, Corneille, Racine, Galileo, Tasso, and Kepler, to say nothing of other names not unworthy to be mentioned with these, who had been lights of preceding generations. They accordingly left the Old World at a time when cultivated mind had in some departments reached its culminating point, and to prevent this intellectual culture from being extinguished under the hard material conditions of the New World, was one of the first aims of the forefathers of the American people: and they immediately made such provision for education as circumstances admitted in their new homes. Those whose means permitted it, and who desired greater advantages of education than the new settlement would furnish, were sent to European seminaries, and of whatever nationality a settler might be, he was bound by a living cord of sympathy to the cultivated mind of some one of the most improved peoples and languages of Europe. Geographically a settler might be the neighbour of the savage, a log cabin might be his only shelter, and the howling wolf his nightly serenader, but he was educated in the communion of the choicest spirits of our race, and every ship that crossed the broad Atlantic kept his mind in the neighbourhood of the cultivated intellect of Europe. It was through such agencies and in consequence of such opportunities that Benjamin Franklin, the youngest son of a poor non-conformist English dyer, who emigrated to Boston in 1682, was able to represent his people in the Courts

of Europe, and to win the respect and esteem of all with whom he was brought in contact, by his propriety, his knowledge, and his fearlessness. This early training and mental culture qualified him to officiate at Versailles in 1782 in signing the provisional treaty which established the independence of the United States. In addition, however, to direct literary culture brought from Europe or kept up by constant intercourse with it, the multiform traditions of social life trained the masses. The great professional institutions of the Old were substantially transferred to the New World. They carried to the remotest cabin of the settler of English descent those foundation principles of social right which had been maturing in the common law for ages. The French settler brought with him the still older principles, transmitted in the Roman code from the most highly developed jurisprudence of the ancient world. The German emigration of a somewhat later date introduced into the society of the western hemisphere men who had been trained in the intellectual system and habit of the most philosophical and speculative of modern nations; hence, although for more than a century and a half there was a continual struggle on this continent with material nature and the difficulties incidental to colonial infancy, there was no disconnection from the mind of the civilized world. There has been no intellectual crudeness in any period of our history. Everything which pertained to outward condition might be rough, provisional, and imperfect, but high literary culture was perpetuated, and whenever grave counsel was to be taken or important business transacted, or the written or spoken word to be employed in any branch of the public service, an astonishing ripeness and

skill never failed of being disclosed. I do not hesitate to say that it was their intellectual culture and mental superiority which enabled the early settlers to master the physical hardships which awaited them there, and to achieve results which now fill us with amazement; and it was the same early training and power of abstract thought which enabled the framers of our constitution and the architects of our government to leave their daily avocations and wrestle successfully with those problems of political economy.

In short, I challenge the world to produce a constellation of statesmen and nation builders equal to those who created the American nation. The people of no other country in all history can point to the equal of Alexander Hamilton, the one master-man who laid the foundations and planned the structure of the American nation: and no people can point to an example of such rapid progress in all the industrial pursuits of life as has been made by the American people since the invention of the steam engine and the elementary spelling book.

In the education of the masses of the people, America is in advance of all other nations, and her institutions of learning are not surpassed by those of the older and more advanced Governments of the world. More than 75,000,000 copies of Webster's Elementary Spelling Book have been printed and sold to the children of America, and more than 40,000 copies of Webster's Dictionary have found sale in the Republic. In the arts and sciences she claims an equal share of honor with other nations of the earth. She gave to the world the cotton gin, the Hoe printing press, the Fairbanks scales, the railway, and the telegraph; she is now creating for

the world a new literature and a new science. No other nation can point to the equal of Audubon, Shoolcraft, and Webster; of Morse, Fulton, and Eads. America transcends the Old World in daily journalism, and nowhere has the world produced an editor equal to Horace Greeley.

In government, America has given to the world a new law, and a new liberty to mankind. And soon she will give a new religion to the world's people, a religion that will invite the great family of man into the simple secrets of its worship, and wrap the globe with its divine ordinances. Already America aspires, not audaciously, but with conscious greatness, to become the master nation in the great family of nations. The continent itself bespeaks the high destiny to which the American nation aspires, and already the facts unerringly indicate that destiny, the goal to which the people of the United States are rapidly tending.

The seventh census, or the census of 1850, taken by the authority of the Congress of the United States, showed the total value of the property, real and personal, belonging to the American people, to be 6,174,000,000 dols. In 1860, this value had risen to 14,183,215,628 dols., showing an increase of 129 per cent. during the previous decade. Much of this large apparent increase is known to be due to more careful methods of enumeration than were adopted in the census of 1850, and also to the inclusion of many elements of value that had been previously omitted. After a careful comparison, the two censuses show that the real increase, during the decade from 1850 to 1860, was about 65 per cent., not counting the slaves as property, but as the producers and consumers of wealth. It thus appears that

14,183,215,628 dols. represents the actual accumulation of the American people, beyond expenditure and consumption, from the settlement of this country to 1860.

Taking our ninth census as the basis, the population of the country is 39,000,000, and taking the census of 1860 as the basis of our calculation, we may set down the total wealth of the nation in 1870 at 23,400,000,000 dols., giving an increase of 9,216,784,372 dols., or 65·8 per cent., in the last decade. According to this estimate, the property of the nation has increased at the annual rate of 921,700,000 dols. for the last ten years. The gross value of the present annual production of the country, according to this figuring, is 6,825,000,000 dols., or an average of 175 dols. *per capita* in currency for the whole population, estimated at 39,000,000. Dividing the people equally between the two sexes, we may place 42 per cent. of the whole number of both sexes below the age of sixteen, and 4½ per cent. above that of sixty. Those between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five who are incapacitated for labor, may be estimated at 500,000. As the result of careful calculation, it may be stated that about 33 per cent., or 12,870,000, will represent that portion of the people who are in the receipt of an income. These consist of two classes: first, those whose income results from *absolute* production, and hence adds directly to the wealth of the nation; secondly, those whose income is paid out of the income of the first class. Deducting the latter from the former, we have left about 10,000,000, in a population of 39,000,000, whose labor makes a direct addition to the wealth of the country, whose average annual production *per capita* amounts to 682·52 dols.,

and from whose industries all the rest of the nation derives its support.

The following summary presents the seven leading industrial occupations of the country, with their annual production of wealth:—

Agriculture	$3,282,950,000
Cotton manufactures	71,500,000
Woollen manufactures	66,000,000
Iron production (pig and bar)	119,950,000
Leather manufactures	222,600,000
Railway service	360,000,000
Fisheries	100,000,000
	$4,233,000,000

Deducting this amount from the gross annual production of the entire nation, we have 2,602,000,000 dols. as the product of all the industries not enumerated in the above list. The direct producers above specified are set down at 7,165,000, of whom 6,435,000 are engaged in agriculture, and 730,000 in the other industries named. The industries not mentioned, yet annually productive of 2,602,000,000 dols., are divided among 5,705,000 producers, the average value of whose labor is 455 dols. per annum. According to this computation, the country has about 1,000,000 skilled artisans—machinists, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, etc.—the aggregate value of whose labor is 1,000,000,000 dols. This leaves 1,602,000,000 dols. to be divided among 4,705,000 common laborers, domestic servants, and all distributors of wealth, giving an average of 340 dols. per annum to each person.

These figures, to the eye of a statistician and political economist, are exceedingly instructive and interesting. To recapitulate, we have 23,400,000,000 dols. as representing the total wealth of the nation; 6,825,000,000 dols. as the value of its present annual production; 9,216,784,372 dols. as the increase of

wealth within the last decade; 12,870,000 persons in the receipt of wages or income, of whom 10,000,000 are direct producers; 6,435,000 engaged in agriculture, and annually producing 3,282,950,000 dols., or nearly one-half of the whole annual product of the nation; 1,000,000 artisans, whose annual production amounts to 1,000,000,000 dols.; and 4,705,000 common laborers, etc., with an aggregate annual production of 1,602,000,000 dols. These figures, as already noted, are taken from the Census returns of 1870.

The hard times which ensued during the present decade checked our progress in a great measure from 1874 to the beginning of 1879. Now the entire country under the rule of the constitution blooms and blossoms with a new life and a new progress, and no man can foretell the future greatness and power to which the American people are now bounding forward with accelerated activity. Standing at the threshold of this new future, I desire to be more specific in the further discussion of the subject.

With us in America the facilities for commercial transportation are unsurpassed by those of any other people on the globe. The two appurtinent slopes of the continent are favored respectively by the Atlantic ocean on the east, and the Pacific on the west, besides valuable river navigation is possessed by both slopes. The entire Mississippi valley is ramified in every direction with navigable streams, and all these continental water facilities are supported by more than 77,000 miles of railway facilities. To these advantages have recently been added the opening of the mouth of the Mississippi river to the commerce of the world under the name of Jetty improvement, and with this achievement for commerce

Americans point with unusual pride to Jas. B. Eads, whose name shines upon the starry firmament of the west as bright as Arcturus, which God Almighty set in the heavens as one of the shining honors of his creation. This man is a marvel of our time, and the legitimate product of America and her institutions. In constructing the far-famed steel bridge across the Mississippi river at St. Louis, and in building the world-noted jetties, Captain Eads staked his own private fortune, and braved all opposition in the prosecution of these two giant enterprises. He now stands successful and victorious before the world, a genius without a peer, and I undertake to say that the success of Jas. B. Eads in opening an ample commercial gateway through the mouth of the Mississippi river to the Gulf of Mexico for the ships of all nations, under the name of Jetty improvements, is the greatest triumph for commerce made by the physical contribution of the higher use of land and water to the traffic of the human family since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and he who writes the honors of the world's most illustrious engineers who have lived before the close of the nineteenth century will put Archimedes for the Greek, Vitruvius for the Roman, Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci for the Italian, Roebling, of America, for the German, Stephenson and Brunel for the English, and Lesseps for the French; but high above these illustrious names will be recorded on the starry scroll of fame the name of Jas. B. Eads, the great engineer and the great commercial captain of our age.

The Jetty improvement will soon revolutionize the commerce of the Mississippi valley. It will change the tides of traffic on the western hemisphere, and

create new channels for the movement of commerce from the Old to the New World. It will give better prices to American producers and cheaper food to Europe. It opens the way to the commercial supremacy of the western hemisphere in controlling and directing the traffic of the globe. What a wonderful future this simple and yet gigantic improvement bespeaks for the commerce of the world! Let the nations hail it as a great commercial gateway opened to the future, and let the world's people hail the man who opened the great gateway as a universal benefactor, a man whose honors no one people can appropriate.

Our achievements in creating and improving commercial facilities for the more rapid and economical transportation of our surplus produce and mechanical productions, have not exceeded the marvellous improvements in labor-saving machinery and in the inventive genius of our people.

The three last International Exhibitions of the products and inventions of the World; the Vienna Exhibition, the American Centennial Exhibition, held at Philadelphia, 1876, and the Paris Exhibition, held at Paris in 1878, each have demonstrated to the world the superiority of American labor-saving machinery and of American manufactures over those of any other nation. And now the last and greatest contest between England and America for the supremacy of trade and commerce is inaugurated, and the facts already readily demonstrate who will be the victor.

Taking the figures of 1875-6-7 as a basis, we have advanced at the rate of £6,000,000 in two years. Our exports to-day are more than double those of 1860, in which year there was a very heavy export trade, the one article of cotton alone amounting to

over 190,000,000 dols., more than twice the cotton export of 1855. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, the increase over 1877 was nearly 65,000,000 dols., or about 11 per cent., and this, notwithstanding the greatly lessened demand for war material consequent upon the cessation of hostilities abroad. All this is exceedingly significant of what lies in a future full of promise; but England's export trade has been decreasing in proportion to the increase in ours. England is our great competitor. She has hitherto held the mastery as the "manufactory of the world." Between 1875 and 1877 her exports fell off £25,000,000. In the latter year alone they decreased £1,746,000, while her imports increased £19,000,000. Last year (1877), our imports increased over 2,500,000 dols. Germany ranks next to England in amount of exports, but her custom statistics are so badly kept that accurate figures cannot be had. France, the third exporting power of the world—the United States being fourth—suffered a decrease between 1875 and 1877 of £16,000,000, so that they have been getting it pretty lively all round. To return to England and put it in another way: Of our total exports, England received but 67·17 per cent. in 1877, against 69·7 per cent. in 1875. In these three years Germany increased ·69 per cent., France decreased 1·03 per cent., Belgium increased ·99 per cent., the Netherlands increased ·49 per cent., Italy increased ·19 per cent., and all other European countries 1·20 per cent. It is therefore apparent that Great Britain, although receiving about the same amount of exports in value from the United States, has not advanced so fast as Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, and from this and what has gone before it is evident that, with the exception of France, we are becoming more

and more her competitor in those countries which are nearest to her.

But let us pass from the territorial extent, physical features, productive power, and material growth of America, from which to draw subsistence and promote health and prosperity, to the subject of population.

Malthus laid down the law of human growth to be one death to two births in a given time. He fixed the average length of human life at thirty-three and a third years, and was thus assured that any well-fed, well-clad, and well-sheltered people doubled their numbers every thirty-three and one-third years. George Combe, of Scotland, after visiting and lecturing in the United States in 1836-7, wrote that the people of the United States doubled their numbers every twenty-five years. Dr. William Elder, a distinguished writer on political economy in Philadelphia, who was employed by the Government during the Civil War to write up the resources of the country, wrote that the people of the United States doubled their numbers every twenty-three and one-third years.

At the time of the adoption of the American Constitution in 1798, the thirteen original States had not so much as 4,000,000 inhabitants. They were then, and in a great measure for half a century, subject to all kinds of privations incident to a new country, and without schools and the arts and inventions necessary to facilitate their efforts to overcome the obstacles of a new country. From the Atlantic the pioneer army, or frontier line, of our population moved forward westward across the Continent toward the Pacific ocean at the rate of about twenty miles per annum.

The population of the Mississippi Valley, which increased fifty-one and a half per cent. from 1850 to 1860, and in spite of the losses of the war increased almost thirty per cent. from 1860 to 1870, if it should increase at the former rate, would be over 100,000,000 in less than forty years from this time; and the child is now born that will see this Valley with a population of more than three times the population of the Roman Empire under Augustus Cæsar.

In the space of eighty years our population grew to 38,555,824, as demonstrated by the census of 1870. Of this number, 18,152,824 were found in the Atlantic States, and 20,397,807 were found in the Mississippi Valley and on the Pacific slope, giving a preponderance of population to the States west of the Alleghanies. If we go further into the analysis of the distribution of population, we shall find that by throwing the States into two general groups, putting all those States that touch the Atlantic in one group, and those in the Valley of the Mississippi and the Western States in the other, that the interest in the subject increases as we proceed. In 1820 the Atlantic States contained 76·69 per cent. of the population of the whole United States, while the other group had but 23·41 per cent. In 1830 this had changed to 71 per cent. in the Atlantic States, and 29 per cent. in the other group. In 1840 it stood at 62·60 per cent. in the Atlantic group, and 37·40 per cent. in the other group. If we assume that the population of the whole United States will continue to increase in about the same ratio that it has done since 1810, say at the rate of 33·33 per cent. each decade, and that the relative increase of the two groups will continue, we shall have in the Mississippi Valley and the Western States, in 1880, 58·76 per

cent., while the Atlantic group will have but 41·25 per cent. of the population; and in 1890 it will stand for the Mississippi Valley group 64·75 per cent., and the other 35·25 per cent. In 1900 it will stand for the Mississippi Valley 71·62 per cent., and the other 22·37 per cent.; and in 1910 it will stand 76·68 per cent. in the Mississippi Valley States, and 23·50 per cent. in the Atlantic group—thus in ninety years completely reversing the relative population of the two groups of States.

But we double our numbers every twenty-five years, and shall continue to do so until the action in the prolific principle in man shall be checked by the same cause that checks it in every race of animals—the stint of food. This cannot happen with us until every acre of our generous soil shall be put into requisition; until the product of more than 3,000,000,000 of acres shall be insufficient to fill the mouths that feed upon them. If we double our numbers every twenty-five years, we shall have a population, in a century and a quarter, of more than 14,000,000,000, or more than the present population of the globe. A century is but a point in the age of a nation. The life of an individual often spans it; and the child is now born that will see more than 600,000,000 American people subsisting in plenty and comfort under the rule of the American Constitution. Of this vast number, 400,000,000 will reside in the grand Valley of the Mississippi, 70,000,000 on the Atlantic slope, and 130,000,000 on the Pacific slope. When we contemplate this vast growth of the Republic, the fulfilment of the prophecy of John Adams, a young school teacher, made twenty-one years before the Declaration of Independence, flashes upon the human mind, and the world beholds America as the

nation of prophecy. Said Adams, in writing to a friend in 1755, "Soon after the Reformation, a few people came over into this New World for conscience' sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident *may transfer the great seat of Empire into America.* It looks likely to me; for if we can remove the turbulent Gallics, our people, according to the most exact computations, will in another century become more numerous than in England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain a mastery of the seas, and the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us."

In presenting this collateral testimony concerning the future of America, I will next introduce Alexis de Tocqueville, who in writing about the future of the United States, says, "There will then arrive a time when there will be seen in North America one hundred and fifty millions of men equal together, who will all belong to the same family, who will have the same point of departure, the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and over which thought will circulate in the same form, and paint itself in the same colors. All else is doubtful, but this is certain. Here is a fact entirely new in the world, of which imagination can hardly seize the extent."

The next witness I call to testify of the future of America is John Bright, M.P., the great commoner of England.

Said John Bright, in speaking of America, in 1862, "I have a far other and far brighter vision before my gaze; it may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and

from the wild billows of the Atlantic, westward, to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime."

I next offer the testimony of Michel Chevalier, a Frenchman of later date than De Tocqueville; said this man of prophetic thought, "History shows that the civilization on which we depend is subject to a general law, which makes its journeys by halts, in the manner of Armies, in the direction of the Occident, making the sceptre pass successively into the hands of nations more worthy to hold it, more strong, and more able to employ it for the general good."

So it seems that the supreme authority is about to escape from Western and Central Europe, to pass to the New World. In the northern part of that other hemisphere, off-shoots of the European race have founded a vigorous society, full of sap, whose influence grows with a rapidity that has never yet been seen anywhere. In crossing the ocean, it has left behind on the soil of old Europe traditions, prejudices, and usages which, as impediments heavy to move, would have embarrassed its movements, and retarded its progressive march. In about thirty years the United States will have, according to all probability, a hundred millions of population, in possession of the most powerful means, distributed over a territory which would make France fifteen or sixteen times over, and of the most wonderful disposition.

Vainly do the occidental and central nations of Europe attribute to themselves a primacy which, in their vanity, they think sheltered from events and eternal: as if there were anything eternal in the

grandeur and prosperity of societies, the works of men ! ! !

I pass next to Emilio Castelar, the inspired Spaniard, as another prophetic voice, of unusual significance concerning America. Said Castelar, "America, and especially Saxon America, with its immense virgin territories, with its republic, with its equilibrium between stability and progress, with its harmony between liberty and democracy, is the continent of the future,—the immense continent stretched by God between the Atlantic and Pacific, where mankind may plant, essay, and resolve all social problems. Europe has to decide whether she will confound herself with Asia, placing upon her lands old altars, and upon the altars old idols, and upon the idols immovable theocracies, and upon the theocracies despotic empires, or whether she will go by labor, by liberty, and by the republic, to collaborate with America in the grand work of universal civilization."

I might continue to present these prophetic voices concerning the future of America, but enough is said to serve the purpose of the present discussion.

In reference to the three great physical sections of that part of North America now under the rule of the Constitution, the Mississippi valley, or central plane of the continent, and the two appurtinent slopes, the valley must be regarded as the future vast theatre of human activity on this globe. "Undoubtedly, this valley is the choicest and widest field that lies still open for the habitation of man on the globe. The southern hemisphere shows nothing to compare with it. The ancient glories of the Ganges and the Nile, of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, have departed: they are no longer open to colonization. They are strewn with the wrecks of centuries, and

filled with the remnants of heterogeneous peoples. The flowery land at the Antipodes, where four hundred millions are just beginning to break through the effete shells into which they have been growing for unnumbered ages, admits of no new settlement. Europe, the land of wealth and power, of art and science, knowledge and culture, labors under the weight of incrusted forms and traditions, and the pressure of restriction and poverty, crowded populations, exhausted fertility, and arbitrary power. In America, all is new and open, and feels the inspiration of renewed life in unfettered freedom."

To these advantages of the New World, and to the grand valley of the Mississippi, is the human race rapidly tending, there to be outwrought into a new and higher type of man. "It is a remarkable fact that the several successive streams of westward emigration of the white Aryan race, from the primitive Paradise, in the neighbourhood of the primeval cities of Sogd and Balkh, in High Asia, long separated in times of migration, and, for the most part, distinct in the European areas, finally occupied by them, and which, in the course of its grand march of twenty thousand years or more, has created nearly the whole of the civilization, arts, sciences, and literature of this globe, building seats of fixed habitation and great cities, successively, in the rich valleys of the Ganges, the Euphrates, the Nile, the rivers and isles of Greece, the Tiber and the Po, the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Seine and Thames, wandering children of the same great family, are now, in these latter times, brought together again in their descendants and representatives, Semitic, Pelasgic, Celtic, Teutonic, and Sclavonic, here in the newly discovered common land of promise, and are

commingled, especially in this great valley of the Mississippi, into one common brotherhood of race, language, law, and liberty." In the language of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher:

"The States of North America are to be the commercial center of the globe. This destiny seems so inevitable that one hardly requires more than inspection of the map to perceive it. Both sides of the globe—the two hemispheres—are ours by position; for we are the land of two oceans. From our hither shore we hail the European and African continents; from our thither shore we greet the Oceanica and Asiatic continents. And all between the oceans is our own; to be filled with our own people, under common institutions, speaking our language.

"The interior structure of this continent peculiarly fits it to be the *mart of the globe.* Its rivers open the interior from almost every part, and give natural outlets: its lakes are embosomed oceans, giving to the Northern frontier a third shore and an inland commerce scarcely less than the Atlantic or Pacific shore.

"Such artificial ways as are needed, especially the great thoroughfares from ocean to ocean—the inland highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific—are within our own bounds. We have no Prussia on our border, no Russia beyond her. Our vast interior is not grouped into national estates, blocking each other up and wasting each other's means by monstrous armies of watch or attack.

"We can ask of commerce what she needs, and whether it is Northward or Southward, Eastward or Westward, her path lies among our own people.

"Shortly the carrying trade of the globe must be in our hands! Upon our shores are the gates through which must pour the world's merchandise."

With this general presentation of principles, facts, inferences, and deductions, which I unhesitatingly assume to be substantially correct, must we not infer that the people of the United States are bounding forward with unexampled rapidity to a future of power and greatness? Must we not infer that, after all, it is America that is to rule the world? After all it is her productions, her commerce, her laws, her language, her civilization, and her religion that is to go forth to the political, intellectual, and moral conquest of the world? A nation fulfilling the divine will by extending its rule over a continent—and a continent, by its entire adaptability to be one government, thus uniting the wisdom of man and the purposes of the Infinite, must in the very nature of things proclaim its own high destiny. America has no Russia on her border, no armies of watch and attack menacing her efforts and eating up the substance of her toiling people.

At this point I wish to present two thoughts which this discussion suggests.

I. In reference to the recent agitation of the English people concerning the problem of the failure of the crops, the labor question, and the over-population of Great Britain and Ireland, I do not agree with those who refer these significant problems wholly to local causes. I undertake to say that a far more remote and greater cause has forced these unexpected problems on the English people for solution, and that cause exists in the fact that a great organic change in the industrial and commercial affairs of this globe has commenced by America now passing into the ascendency, and fast becoming the great food-producing, the great commercial, and the great manufacturing nation of the earth. This is

the great fact, the great cause, that is now forcing new and unexpected problems upon the English people and upon the peoples of Europe. How could it be otherwise? If a new sun was to appear in the solar system larger than our present sun, would not new and unexpected astronomical problems without number present themselves to the astronomers for solution? And if a new continent was to appear on the globe, greater in territorial extent, and richer in productive power than any existing continent of the earth, and the new continent to be rapidly peopled from all other lands, and its productive resources developed and brought into requisition for the benefit of the whole human family, would not such an unexpected factor of superior power, in the very nature of things, force upon the previously existing peoples of the earth new and unexpected problems affecting the food supply, manufactures, commerce, and other interests, of the older peoples?

The origin of the more significant and threatening problems that now present themselves to the people of England and Europe, must be traced to America, and there found in the fact that that mighty people, on the other side of the Atlantic, are rapidly passing into the ascendency in the affairs of the world. The origin of these problems thus found, their solutions must be studied and solved from different stand-points than those of a superabundance of rain, the aggressions of the nobility, and the over-population theories.

II. The second thought I here wish to present, is, that while I have endeavoured to present my country fully and truthfully in many of her expressions of power and greatness, and proclaimed for her the destined rank of primacy among the

nations of the earth, I do not bring to my aid that old conviction that the growth to supremacy of any one nation, and any one people, depends upon the ruin of another. For though it was true that the growth of each pagan nation was followed by the downfall of its predecessor; it is not true of this age, that the superior growth of one people or one nation, must be dependent on the downfall of the mother nation that gives birth to the vigorous political child which is born to become the master nation.

The advanced nations of the earth have attained an intellectual and moral growth, which is self-sustaining and self-recuperating in government and civilization, and with this possession of inexhaustible human force, of self-sustaining power and life, it does not now follow that, for America, the child of England, to pass into the ascendency in the affairs of the world, that it must be done on the ruin or downfall of England, her mother. No such demand is made of our age. And when America becomes fixed in history as the master nation in the great family of nations, as the all-directing head and central heart of national life on this globe, the peoples of the wide earth will catch the inspiration of her rising greatness, and hasten to put on new political garments and be re-invigorated by the new national life now being heralded by the inspiration and poetry of our own times. In this wonderful transition of national advancement there will be no relapse into barbarism, no more sand-buried cities, no mouldering columns of Balbec or broken walls of Colosseums; therefore, no decline awaits England in the grander life of America. On the other hand, the reactive influences of that mightier life of America will re-invigorate England, and lift her to a new and greater place in

the affairs of the world than she now holds among the crumbling forms of the governments of Europe.

But America does not aspire to rule the world, as England has done, with sword and cannon. Her conquests will be made by the peaceful influences of her civilization, and the end is certain. England will reluctantly surrender to other hands the scepter of commercial power on this globe; the scepter which she has so firmly held in her imperial grasp since the fall of the Great Napoleon. But the all-powerful edict of time will compel her in the near future to obey that inflexible law that overrules the destiny of empires and nations in the onward progress of human affairs on this globe.

Under the pagan civilization the scepter of human power passed from Nebuchadnezzar, and Babylon was succeeded by Nineveh, and in turn passed from that city to Jerusalem, and Solomon became the great king of the world. From Solomon the scepter passed to Alexander the Great, and Alexandria was made the commercial metropolis of the world. Rome, from her imperial grandeur under Trajan, became the prey of time, and "the mornings and the evenings of the Cæsars became the cradle and covering of better days." Constantinople, Venice, and Genoa, each in turn held the scepter of commercial and political power; but the fair metropolis of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean surrendered the scepter of power, and in the onward westward movement of the center of human power on this globe, the scepter was transferred to Holland, to the Netherlands. There it was held for a time in deserving hands; but onward and westward moved the center of human power. It left Holland and Amsterdam and made a lodgment in England, and made

London the great city of the world. And here in the hands of this masterful Anglo-Saxon race is held the scepter of commercial and political power on this globe. Here all nations have acknowledged the power of England's arms; this imperial nation is everywhere acknowledged supreme on the seas. From this great city has gone forth all over the earth the commanding might of money and mind, and swayed with undisputed power the destiny of the world.

But human power is moving westward across the Atlantic Ocean, and with it the center of power will soon follow, and make a final lodgment in the central plane of that vast continent of the West. It cannot make a lodgment on the Atlantic slope for want of room and food. It cannot move and make a lodgment on the Pacific slope, for the productive power of that region is not sufficient to become the controlling home of industry, wealth, and political power. Nor is it possible for the movement to cross the Pacific Ocean to the inferior races of Asia; it therefore must seek a lodgment in the central plane of the Continent of North America, in the valley of the Mississippi, where "more people can be subsisted in plenty and comfort than all Europe now numbers, than any monarch ever ruled." To go further with the discussion, where the center of human power makes a lodgment in the central plane of the North American Continent, there will grow up the great city of futurity, the successor of London.

This is an age of great cities, and the growth of the interior cities of the United States is more rapid than those on the Atlantic sea-board. I would not detract from the name and character of the Atlantic cities of America—Boston, New York, Philadelphia,

and Baltimore. I know that Boston has given to our country more than its share of financial, intellectual, and moral power. I know that now New York is the present metropolis of America; that, save London, New York exerts more commercial and financial power than any other city on this globe, and, united with the State of New York, they together possess a higher type of American manhood, of American statesmanship, and human power, than any other State in the American Union. Philadelphia expresses itself through transitional forms of social, religious, and industrial society. There is but one Philadelphia on this globe. In proportion to the number of its population, it has a smaller number of inhabitants who lack a competency than any other city of the globe. But Philadelphia is a society city. Baltimore, the fourth and more southerly Atlantic city, is a representative organization of commercial power, civilization, and representative interests, but in no way can the Atlantic sea-board cities keep pace with the cities of the great central plain of North America. Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans, are growing more rapidly than Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. My many presentations of arguments to prove that St. Louis is to be the future great city of the world, leave me, at this time, to simply indicate that the future great city of the world is to grow up in North America, and to point to the fact that St. Louis is to be the world's metropolis. I will simply add that it is a noteworthy fact that St. Louis is the most healthy city of any considerable size on the globe. It is central to the largest system of river navigation in the world. Also it is central to the largest railway system in the world. It is seven hundred miles from

the Gulf of Mexico, and three hundred from Lake Michigan, and mid-way between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, and finally central to the largest popular area of land on the globe, and thus it is destined to be the world's great city of futurity.

By the very geographical position occupied by St. Louis in the central plane of North America, that city is destined to be the manufacturing emporium and food distributing center of the continent.

The organization of society as one whole is yet too imperfect to call for the use of one all-directing head and central moving heart, and it will only be the ultimate, the final great city, that will fully unite in itself the functions analagous to those of human head and heart, in relation to the whole family of man.

The final triumph of the great city will also carry with it a final organization of the world's civilization —a perfect unity of the entire interests of the advanced nations of the earth, and the higher functions of intellectual life will be so exerted as to subordinate the passions and sentiments of men to principles of harmony, organization, and unity, thus establishing a perfect system of government and society by means of harmony between the active and the passive relations of the individual and the community.

The final triumph of the great city of futurity will be found to be essential to the perfect government and happiness of mankind, and to the final attainment of supreme and all-directing social conditions, which are to establish a final civilization for the world's people and reveal the law of harmony which is to establish and direct the Social Order of the future.

The transfer of the center of human power on this globe to America will carry with it the commercial, industrial, financial, political, intellectual, and moral power of the world, and thus draw all people, and all nations to America. Nor is the time for this transfer of power a quarter of a century distant in the future. In 1890 it will be revealed to the world.

At this point I desire to say that in the prosecution of the work essential to the building up and maintenance of the United States Government on and over the continent of North America, those charged with making and administering the laws of the country will strictly adhere to the enforcement of the "Monroe Doctrine," as herewith expressed by President Monroe in his annual message.

It is a noteworthy fact, however, that George Canning, a distinguished English statesman, and the successor of the great Fox, was the author of the Monroe doctrine. He was the inventor, promoter, and champion of it, and after it was discussed in President Monroe's Cabinet, and supported by John Quincey Adams, Mr. Monroe, accepting the lead of Canning, enunciated this doctrine as a cardinal policy of the American nation.

Said President Monroe, "The political system of the allied powers, the governments of Europe, is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments; and to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore,

to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. * * It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of our continent without endangering our peace and happiness. Nor can any one believe that our southern brethren," meaning the people south of the United States, "if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

In thus declaring, the thought of President Monroe has become the will of the American people, as long ago expressed in divine ethics. It was the utterance of no idle word when Dr. Draper said that "the topographical character of North America fits it to be the political home of one people, one nation:" for this was the voice of God speaking through science and political jurisprudence. North America must be the political home of the American people—a new and higher type of men now being wrought out of a commingling of all other races of men. There will grow the master race of man, and there the master nation of the world. On that Continent the highest ideal of the race will be made actual. But yesterday the Continent of America was the undisturbed home of savages and wild beasts: to-day it is the happy abode of intelligent millions of Anglo-Saxon people. But yesterday the lightning ran wild in the heavens over the Continent of America—to-day, beneath the ocean over which Columbus made his bold and hazardous voyage, human thought travels on wings

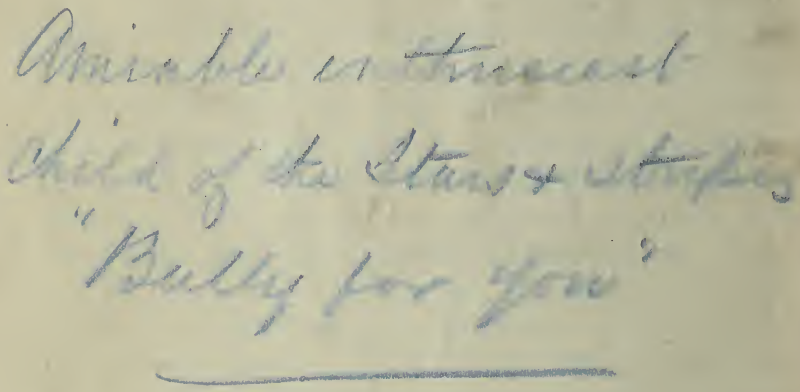
of fire at the bidding of man. The story of our national life almost takes the character of romance, rather than that of secular history, and the Republic itself is the most sublime political wonder ever created by man. And when in the pride of empire, and the fulness of power, Cæsar, after the Pharsalian triumph, decreed the destiny of the world; little did he dream that in later ages a pilot would go forth through the gates of the sea and reveal to the world a Continent hitherto unknown to the elder families of man; little did he dream that in a later time a new political child would be born upon that Continent that would be the offspring and heir of all the ages, and that Washington would lead the way to create an Imperial Republic of States destined to embrace that Continent, and that the stars of Heaven would typify the emblems of political communities, whose united sovereignty would ere long give to the world the master nation in the family of nations.

I have thus presented my country, hastily though earnestly, in some of its leading aspects, in the hope that it may be more truly known and rightly appreciated by those people and nations more aged and wealthy, though not so full of the promises which the future has in store.

And as one who loves the land of his birth, his people, and his nation, "I turn in humble gratitude to God, as I behold my country, redeemed and fixed in history, the Columbus of nations once in chains, but now hailed as discoverer and benefactor." Heroes and sages of all lands delight to speak the praise of America and watch with awe the sublime spectacle of her progress and the growth of her power. With prophetic eyes I look down the eventful ages of futurity, and I see the great Republic moving

majestically forward with her vast confederation of States and her humanizing civilization, and with a population more numerous than the sons of Jacob, all tending, under the guidance of divine law, to wrap the globe in the new liberty she has given to mankind, and the religion of the future soon to be born in that new Eden of the world.

O America, thou art my home, thou art my nation. All hail, nation of nations! thy stars are taken from the stars above, and thy government is like unto the government of God.



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